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[For additional information on the general cultural history of Northwest China up to 1956, see category 116, the following pages: map following p. 25, 26-29, 33-47, 73, 77-79, 113, 152-154, 158, 181, 236-237, 291, 296, 301, 306-310, 437, 465-469, 475, 484, 486, 488-524, 533, 540-545, 560, 569-570, 648, 654-658, 668-669, 671-672, 678-681, 687-690, and 692-702.]

The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S 631 657 175 647 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal cases of the frontier area.

e. Territo ial development bureau which took care of the preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian inhabitants in general.

S N 175 659 563 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves represented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the

S N 175 659 563 669 minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai. The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N 175 631 619 II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic conglomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648 political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the Northwest and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "büks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

N 563 M 614 622 198 199 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a M [191] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The N 563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan M 195 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol 199 614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with 622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

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*175 under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.
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4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

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175 Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appear-
648 ances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

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175 5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions
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648 What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

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175 Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a
121 possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities.
648 Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia
132 resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic
114 fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist
182 (C. E. P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

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a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called the phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is believed to be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. When the climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fertile enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when the climate becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink and the pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply and forces the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors. Speaking of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that the "paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac eruption of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographical recoil towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the rapid ebb of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads were periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and many scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Huntington suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge migration of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent quality of the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the pull exerted by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural lands, and the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Civilization, p. 568).

A period of peace and prosperity would allow the population of the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate steppes, food was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses, and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did not have the tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden change in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and water supply would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomadic people to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troubles," the lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peoples would tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regions. Distress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abroad furnish the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the leavening of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads often were induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set the world in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of climate and seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of the nomads in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, who has given much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontiers, passim), lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the eruption of the nomads. There were, for example, technological factors like the invention of the powerful compound bow and the technique of mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over their enemies.

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The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

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in these tides of nomadic eruptions can hardly be explained by one set of factors, useful as it may be as a contribution to our understanding of this process. Moreover, each set in turn led into a rather involved pattern. Geography and the highly specialized economies of the nomads, particularly when they had reached the stage of pure nomadism, induced them to seek a more stable base for their evolving power urge than could be found in the steppe lands of Mongolia, from which most of the nomadic conquests emerged. It induced them to push first into the oasis situation of Turkestan with its mixed, richer, more stable but, geographically speaking, more fragmented economy. This aspect helped form the pattern of relationships of the group, which was on its way to conquest of other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples in Central Asia. However, only from the foundation of this economic basis could an effort at conquest of neighboring civilizations be sustained.

The social pattern of development leading a warrior leader to integrate his clan, his tribe, his people, and finally, a confederation of peoples, into a conquest force is interlinked with the previous one. This expansion led to a relative shrinkage of the group that had been carrier of the power urge and more and more force had to be substituted for the self-consciousness of the participants and their community of purpose. In the course of the social development towards conquest and empire building, the initial group gained a feeling of mission but lost its surroundings geographically, economically, and socially. As a rule this change also led to a change in the pattern of emerging leadership: the warrior leader chosen by his own people had to make room for the heir of a diversified empire.

This development again was linked with the development of a relationship to neighboring agricultural societies, particularly China, a relationship that has been understood under the concept of marginality by Krader (The Cultural and Historical Position of the Mongols, Asia Major 3, 1952, 169-183). Economically speaking, this relationship is always one of interdependence. From the Chinese side the natural and necessary exchange of produce was conceived under an evolving series of patterns. In periods of Chinese power ascendancy the nomadic raid pattern was transformed into trade, then into tribute, and then, if necessary, into conquest. However, in periods when a nomadic empire building situation coincided with a decline of Chinese power, the nomads would shake off conquest, resort to raids and to conquest in their turn.

Whatever may have been the causes of the periodic eruption of the nomads, whether they were due to climatic changes or due to concentration and the disintegration of nomadic society, the pattern remained. With clockwork regularity different groups of

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nomads have descended on the marginal zones, such as Turkestan and Inner Mongolia, conquering and absorbing some peoples and pushing others, in a sort of chain reaction, until the reverberations were felt from China Proper in the east to Russia in the west. The history of China's great Northwest cannot be clearly delineated without tracing in broad sweep the see-saw of power between China and the nomadic peoples.

C. Early History to 1644

1. Chou Dynasty

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In antiquity the Northwest region of China was known as the province of Yung, one of the nine provinces of ancient China. For a long time, it was a region inhabited by peoples whom the Chinese called "barbarians," the Ti in the north and the Jung in the west. The founder of the Chou Dynasty, King Wen (circa 12th century B.C.) was himself a "western barbarian." His fief in the Wei River Valley in Shensi, an area which in the early years of Chinese civilization was fertile and fruitful, provided his son, King Wu, with the men and resources for the campaign to gain control over China. Later, as the barbarians of the Northwest became strong, they forced the Chou court to transfer its capital from the Wei River Valley to Honan.

2. Ch'in Dynasty

The region of Shensi, centering around the Wei River Valley, became the fief of the Marquis (later Duke) of Ch'in. The bountiful resources of the region, enhanced further by the development of irrigation, the militant nature of the people who were part Hun, and the administrative and social reforms initiated by Legalist ministers enabled Ch'in to rise to power, to triumph over the other feudal states in 221 B.C., to conquer the empire and establish the first centralized government over China. Ch'ang-an (now Sian), the erstwhile capital of the Chou kings, became the national capital of a mighty empire from this time on, down through the Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties.

Under the Ch'in state and later the Ch'in empire, the Chinese began to extend their power up the Kansu Corridor and into the regions of the modern provinces of Ninghsia and Chinghai. In the north, they completed the Great Wall to fend off the northern barbarians and to protect their flanks as they advanced westward. The advances made during the Ch'in Dynasty, which fell in 209 B.C., prepared the way for the great expansion of the Chinese into Turkestan during the Han period.

3. Han Dynasty

With the consolidation of Chinese unity a new power arose among the barbarians of the Northwest. This was the confederation of nomadic tribes formed under the leadership of the Hsiung-nu or Huns. Dur ng the civil war which overthrew the Ch'in

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N B. Population Problems

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese
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669 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
648 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
175 and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, west of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

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648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy
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177 Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became
[668] the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

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167 A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
708 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
466 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
642 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
668 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the
177 more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

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171 996 one can hide from his all-seeing eyes, nor flee his judgment.

171 175 77 D56 This was the autochthonous religion of the Central Asiatic steppe regions. It has been proved that Shamanism appeared among the Hsiung-nu of the third century B.C., as a cult idolizing heaven and certain holy mountains. The T'u-ch'üeh of the sixth century A.D. worshipped the originator of heaven and earth as their highest god, and sacrificed horses, cattle and sheep to him. This ancient so-called Tengri cult looks upon the world as a construction of layers. The upper seventeen layers form the realm of heaven, the world of light, and in the uppermost layer resides the Supreme Being, whom heaven and earth must obey. The lower seventh to ninth layers constitute the world of darkness, the place of damnation for sinners. Virtuous souls, on the other hand, are received into the world of light. Between these upper and lower realms is the world of the living.

996 171 991 Turkic mythology tells of a child-protecting diety, Umai, and good genii who populate the soil and water (yer-sub), especially fountains and mountains, holy places (idug). This cult became legalized and later was regulated by the Jassa (code) of Chingis Khan. The veneration and adoration of air and water played an important role, and was a distinctive phenomenon. For this reason, the Jassa forbade the Islamic ritual washings of body and clothes except in certain cases. Priests prophesied the future. The Kül Tegin inscriptions (one of the oldest Turkic runic written monuments) reflect the Turco-Mongolian cosmogeny and the concept of morality: The order of heaven is the subjecting and peaceful ordering of the peoples of the "four corners of the earth."

991 956 171 This same Tengri cult was carried to Europe by the Chazars and Avars. The Shamanism of the latter is evident in the practices handed down to posterity by Theophylaktos Simokatta, a Byzantinjan historiographer of the seventh century. In China, which was conquered by the Ju-chen in the twelfth century A.D., a large part of the influence of the Ju-chen statesman, Wan-yen Wu-shih, was due to his Shamanistic "brotherhood."

991 175 171 956 More precise information about the Mongols' religious concepts prior to the thirteenth century is not available. Even in later times, Mongol Shamanism remained essentially unchanged and the major religions had only a negligible influence upon it. Mongols hide from thunder, they are careful to avoid muddy streams and springs, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and they take refuge on holy mountains. According to Islamic writers and Nestorian missionaries, the object of such ascents is to come nearer to Tengri. Doffing the cap and belt is a sign of humility before the omnipotence of Tengri. Thus, when he was pursued by the Merkits, the young Chingis Khan fled to Burkhan Khaldun, an especially holy mountain today called

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Ken-tai, on the headwaters of the Onon River, and there implored Tengri for grace and mercy. According to Vladimirzov, the name "Chingis Khan" should be traced back to Chinggis, the god of light. His elevation and promotion to the position of Great Khan (Khagan) of all the Turko-Mongol peoples of Central Asia was confirmed by religious omens, circumstances and conditions. For example, there was Mu-kua-li's prediction that a revenging hero would be chosen (Chingis Khan) in the same place (Kharaqorum) in which the last Mongol received the title of Khan, i.e., "receiver (recipient) of the mandate of the blue heaven." The superstitiously feared Shaman, Kökčü, could ride his dapple-gray horse into the heavens and converse with the spirits. It was he who announced to the assembly (Qurultai) empowered with making the decision that the "eternal blue heavens" had ordained Chingis Khan as Khagan of the world, and that, henceforth, he would be known as "Khagan through the eternal heavens." Even the Mongol banner of the nine yak tails, which is the symbol of the house of the spirit of the "golden chains" (altan uruq), expressed the religious mission of conquering the world. Later Chingis Khan had Kökčü, as well as his own blood brother, Jamuga, murdered. The deed was accomplished, however, without the spilling of blood, because, accor ling to Shamanism, the soul resides in the blood. Before starting out on the decisive campaign against North China, Chingis Khan remained in his tent for three days with his belt loosened. When he emerged on the fourth day, he proclaimed to the worshipping people that Tengri had accorded victory to him.

Chingis Khan and all his successors were Tengri's representatives on earth; their command was his command; rebellion against them was rebellion against him. When Güyük prepared to invite the Pope through his emissary, John of Plano Carpini, he called upon heaven (as highest representation of divinity and as the arbitrator among all religions) to bear witness to his divine power.

The worship of Tengri did not rule out attempts by the Mongols to placate other representations of the godhead. This wish for double insurance led to the lenient and favorable treatment accorded to the priests of foreign religions and to the famous Mongol tolerance. After a thousand-year process of penetration, Shamanism was finally overcome by the major religions of the bordering states. It is, however, still alive among the Tungus tribes of Manchuria and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, among the Alashan Mongols, among the Tibetans of South Chinghai and finally, among those Turks who live in the mountainous regions of Sinkiang. It is noteworthy that, to a certain degree, Shamanism is compatible with Islam and Buddhism.

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B. Buddhism

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The steppe people's first contact with Buddhism came by means of the famous "silk road." Buddhist missionaries from India traveled over this road to China. Translations of Buddhist works into Chinese (223-253) were made by the Parthian, An Shih-kao, in 170; by Indoscythian Yüeh-chih Chih-ch'an, founder of the monastery at Lo-yang; and by Chih-ch'ien, son of a Yüeh-chih envoy. A Chinese military leader brought Kumārajīva of Kucha (344-413) to Lo-yang (382-383). Eventually the Turfan region was converted to Buddhism. Survarnatep of Kucha (Suvarna: Sanskrit "Gold") was host to the Chinese Mahāyāna pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, in 630. Kucha's Iranian characteristics were eradicated by the Chinese punitive expedition of 647. Buddhism remained the predominant religion of Inner Asia until the times of Islamic conquest.

The first steppe people to come into close contact with Buddhism were the Hsiung-nu and the Toba. Shih Hu (334-349), king of the Hsiung-nu, combined Buddhism and perversion and his son ordered the most beautiful concubine cooked and served. On the other hand, T'ai-wu-ti, the Toba emperor, opposed Buddhism (438-446), but his grandson, Wen-ch'eng-ti (452-465), put a halt to the persecution. In 471, Hsien-wen-ti went to the extent of abdicating and becoming a monk. His son, Hsiao-wen-ti, humanized the law. During the latter's reign the conquering tribe, the Toba, became completely sinified and concurrently lost its warlike characteristics. Buddhism exercised its strongest influence upon the Mongols who were the first steppe people to conquer the whole of China. Khagan Möngke was the first ruler who showed a pro-Buddhist attitude. Qubilai, after him, actively approved the advancement of Buddhism among his people. He promoted the Tibetan, 'P'ags-pa, to be his personal advisor and promulgated anti-Taoist edicts. As conquerors and rulers over Iran, Ilkhan's Hülägü, Abaga and Argun brought Buddhism to the western countries.

For a time, Buddhist influence on the Mongols was weakened in the face of the Chinese nationalist reaction of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols had to retreat from China proper. Their intellectual impoverishment contributed to a further disintegration of Buddhist influence. Soon, however, following their contact with Tibet, their complete conversion to Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, took place. In 1566, after the Yellow Sect, founded by Tson-k'a-pa, had vanquished the Red Sect, it succeeded in converting the Ordos Mongols. Altan Khan and his nephew, Khutuqtai Setsen, invited Tibet's highest church dignitary, bSod-nams-gya-mtso, to visit them. In 1577, the "Mongolian Church" was established. Altan Khan was ordained as the incarnation of Qubilai and the prelate as the incarnation of

795 P'ags-pa. After his conversion, the Great Khan, Tümen Sasaq-
171 tu (1557-1593), of the Chahar area, promulgated a Buddhist code
• 175 of law. His second successor, Legdan, built a Buddhist temple and had the Buddhist compilation of the Tanjur translated. The "Living Buddha" settled at Urga in 1602 and was succeeded by a chain of reincarnations until 1924. In 1620, the Khoshuts, inhabitants of present-day Dzungaria, broke away from Shamanism. Buighabu Bātur also adhered to Yellow Sect Lamaism. As a reward for leading the "holy league" of Oirats who defeated a Red Sect prince's attack on Lhasa, the Dalai Lama ordained Gushi-Khan, the Buighabu's brother, as "vicar" of the Yellow Church. After the Ordos and the Chahar, the Tümet and Khalkha, having adopted Buddhism, also lost their warlike characteristics. In contrast to the "secret history" of 1240, the history of the Ordos prince, Sanang Setsen (1662) dealt not with the conquest of the world but with the conquest of souls.

175 C. The Lamaism of Chinghai
795 The province of Chinghai, or Amdo, as the Tibetans refer to
792 it, has played a very significant role throughout the history of Lamaism. From Chinghai came the first new stirrings of Buddhism after the religious persecution by the apostate king, Langdarma. The great reformer, founder of the ruling (Yellow) sect, the Gelugpa, came from this border area. The immediate excuses for China's marching into Lhasa usually have been supplied by events here. Both the present and the late Penchen Lamas had spent considerable periods of exile or semi-exile in one of the most famous monasteries of the area, Kumbum. Cen-
[648] turies ago the Chinese system of Ambans at Lhasa was insti-
[795] tuted after a Chinese army had marched as escort for a disputed reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This Dalai had been born south of Amdo, but had spent his years at Kumbum. As a meeting place of Mongols, Tibetans and Chinese, the area has also played a vital role, religiously and politically, in matters concerning Mongolia and China.

795 Lamaism has played a role in Chinghai equal to the role that
792 the province has played in the religion. According to Ekvall (1939), one out of every three males in the area is a monk. Lhasa has never succeeded in achieving the secular rule of this region; as a result, all sects of Lamaism including the various unreformed sects and the non-Buddhist Bonist sects have continued to flourish. However, the two largest monasteries, Kum-
792 bum and Labrang, adhere to the Yellow Church. Kumbum had held the pride of place as the site where the great reformer
[669] Tsong-kha-pa was born. After the Moslem rebellions in the last century, however, the population of Kumbum dropped. Until recently it had to bow to Labrang in respect to numbers. Between

792 all the forms of Lamaism, especially in Chinghai, the strong
795 strain of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion, continues in a modified but still openly non-Buddhist form.

795 D. Manichaeism

Manichaeism reached the steppe people by way of Persia and
• 175 China. Mo-yen-cho (759-780), the Uigur Khagan, accompanied by Manichaean missionaries, returned from the conquered Lo-yang. He was converted and on the inscription of Khara Balasaghun he was referred to as "Mani's emanation." After the Kirghis forced the Uigurs to flee from the Orkhon region to the Turfan area, Manichaeism waned among the latter and they soon adopted the Buddhism found in their new domain. Rudiments of Manichaeism were to be found up to the time of Chingis Khan.

795 E. Christianity

175 From time to time, Christianity has played a significant role
191 in Inner Asia. Due to Methodius and Kyrillus (759-780), it exerted powerful force among the former inhabitants of today's southern Russia. The empire of Khara-Khitai in Eastern Turkestan furthered both Buddhism and Nestorianism. Among the Turkic Naimans, Nestorianism came into existence but not in sufficient strength to overshadow Shamanism. The Turkic tribe of the Kereits (almost as influential as the Naimans) is said to have become Christian about 1,000 A.D. Their Khan contacted the metropolit of Merv, Ebejesü. When the Khan of the Naimans, Küčlük, had been driven away to Kashgaria (1214), his Nestorian education became obvious when he permitted the Moslems to become either Buddhists (considering the faith of his wife, who was the daughter of Gur-Khan) or Nestorians.

The Mongols were considerably influenced by Christian traditions because of the Kereits' and the Naimans' intense interest in their faith. The Great Khan Güyük (1246-1248) was in favor of Nestorianism. His chief advisor, Khadag, and his chancellor, Chin-Kai, were Nestorians. The Great Khan Möngke (1251-1259) was educated by his Nestorian mother, who was the Kereit princess, Surgaqtani, and had Bulghai, a Kereit Nestorian, as his advisor. Even at the beginning of the Iranian Mongolian Empire of the Ilkhans, Christian traces were considerable.

Hülägü's wife, a niece of the last king of the Kereit, was a Nestorian. The military leader, Kitbugha, who was defeated at Ain Jalüt (in Palestine), was another early adherent to this religion. In many respects the conquest of Persia resembled an anti-Islamic crusade. The indigenous Christians' aid proved effective whereas that of the occidental Christians was requested in vain. As in the case of the empire of the "Golden Horde" (Batus' son, Sartaq, was a Nestorian), these Christian outposts

795 were annihilated by the victory of Islam.
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175 When the government of the now sinified Mongols became a Chinese empire, Qubilai permitted the Nestorian patriarch of Bagdad to establish an archbishopric in Peking in 1275. In 1289, a government bureau was established in Peking to deal with Christian affairs throughout the empire. A strong occidental Christian influence was also present. John of Montecorvine, sent by the Pope in 1289, built two churches in Peking and became archbishop of that city in 1307. Other Franciscan monks who played an important role were Thomas, Hieronymus, Petrus of Florence (1313) and Andreas of Perusa. The most famous missionary from the west was Odorick of Poderone (1265-1313). As the fall of the Uigur Empire in 840 resulted in the destruction of the Christian outposts, so the downfall of the Mongol rulers brought the collapse of Chinese Christianity which was pursued and prohibited by Chinese nationalist reaction.

F. Islam

Islam was relatively late in reaching the steppe people. Its first adherents were the Turks (Qarakhanides, Ghaznawids and Selchuks) who settled in Transoxania, Afghanistan and Iran in the tenth century. They soon took the lead in overthrowing the heretofore dominant Arabian culture and tradition. Islam's deeper penetration into the culture of the steppes occurred under Mongol rule. After the first massacres, Chingis Khan adopted a more positive attitude toward Islam. However, he prohibited ritual washings and ritual slaughtering of animals because they contradicted Mongolian traditions. In conquered Bukhara, then the cultural center of Turkestan, he accepted the doctrines of Islam (1222) except for the "unnecessary" pilgrimage to Mecca ("all the world is Tengri's house"). His tolerant successors gave Moslems the opportunity to participate in religious discussions or debates. In 1254 they were tactically allied with Rubruk against the Buddhists. During this time, some insignificant conversions of members of the ruling family were made. Among these unsuccessful converts were Mubarek-Shih in Chaghatai (1266); the Ilkhan Takhudar (1282-1284), and the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (1257-1260). In 1377 the grandson of Qubilai, Ananda, who despite his Buddhist name was an ardent Moslem, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of China. He was vanquished and murdered by his cousin, Khaiban.

In the fourteenth century, the official conversion of the Mongol successor states began under Ghazan (1295-1304 in the empires of the Jakhans). To indicate their new faith the Mongols even adopted the wearing of turbans. The wave of iconoclasm initiated by the Emir Nauruz resulted in the destruction of churches, synagogues, and the pagodas decorated with Buddhist

795 sculpture by Arghun. Under Özbek Khan (1312-1340) and Jani Bek
171 (1340-1357) Islam conquered the "realm (empire) of the Golden
175 Horde" of southern Russia. Later there followed the Inner Asian Khanac Chaghatai which stuck longest to the Jassa Laws of Chingis Khan.

As far as Central Asia was concerned, the conversion of the masses occurred under Tughluq (1347-1363) and Chingis Khan's greatest successor, Timur (Tamerlan), who wanted to recreate the Great Mongolian Empire and who founded his empire completely on Islam. However, his plans for the invasion of China never materialized.

II. The Position of Islam in Northwest China

A. The Sources of Islam

909 The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Koran, the Holy Book which, according to Moslem belief, was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by God through his Angel Gabriel. Although the Koran does not contain a systematic exposition of Moslem beliefs or rituals, yet taken as a whole, there emerges from it a consistent body of doctrine and of practical obligations. Through the ages these have remained the core and inspiration of Moslem religious life.

The Koran is not the only source of the Islamic religion. The sunna (custom) of the Prophet and the interpretation of his different ways of behavior also constitute an extremely important source for the religion. At first the sunna of the Prophet was handed down in the form of a short narrative, called a hadith (story), told by his Companions. The whole corps of sunna collected and handed down soon received the general name of hadith. The hadith was first transmitted orally. Later it was collected and written down. The tradition was invaded on a vast scale by forgeries. However, the serious students of the hadith became aware of the danger of incorporating many of these tales which contained elements foreign to Islam. They established different methods of control by which to attempt to sift out the genuine traditions from the mass of forgeries.

709 The Shari'a is the third important source of Islam. It em-
671 bodies Islamic juristic studies and doctrines, which evolved into a rather coherent body of laws and regulations. The law contained in the Shari'a is not restricted to religious regulations, but envelops all phases of life. Yet it is considered a part of the religious doctrine, for one of the characteristics of Islam is that law is considered part of the religion, and there is no clear distinction between the two. In the Koran, both legal and religious aspects were interwoven. The connection between law and religion established by Muhammad and adopted by his followers

779 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a
785 spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a
788 very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.
• [175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so
[302] also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a
[292] state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the territory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

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/Chinese Moslems/

The Chinese Moslem community differs from the Turkic Moslem community mainly in the organization of the community around the mosque and in the peculiar position the ahung holds in the community. The ahung holds the central position in both the religious and the social life. In principle, the Islamic community has no professional priests, but in China the ahung has actually taken the place of one. The Imam, whose office is important in Western Asia and Eastern Turkestan, where he has leadership in religious life, has lost his pre-eminent position in China. So has the Muazzin (the one who calls people for prayer) and the Mufti (the teacher of law). At present these positions have been practically abolished. Those who hold the title have no particular importance in the community. These titles are inherited and are not conferred by virtue of any knowledge of Islamic affairs. The ahung is the only real Moslem scholar in the Chinese Moslem community. He is nominated to this position by virtue of his knowledge of the details and philosophy of the religion. He trains students, the Khalifa, to become the future ahungs and to continue to maintain Islamic life in China.

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G. Chinese Moslem Sects

SN 795 185 [175]

After the pilgrims had established some contact with the rest of the Moslem world, there were attempts, many of them springing in the Northwest, to reform Islam in China. The first well-known attempt of this sort was made by Muhammad Amin, known in China as Ma Ning-hsia, who in 1781 appeared among the Salars and introduced some reforms concerning the rituals of Islam, correcting some of the practices which seemed not to be in accordance with those he had observed in Mecca.

However, of all the most notoriously successful is the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the hsin-chiao or the new doctrine, as contrasted with the traditional religion practiced by the Chinese Moslems, Lao-chiao or the old doctrine.

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The new sect is to be set apart from the rest of Islam in China. In spite of the Islamic Chinese tradition regarding religious leaders, their being chosen by the community to serve it, and known only to their adherents, Ma Hua-lung's name was known far beyond his immediate followers. To some he was a prophet, and others detested him as an impostor.

The nature of Ma Hua-lung's teachings still remains somewhat of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard them as endorsements of Shi'ism, or perhaps as an unusually bold representation of Sufism (mysticism in Islam). However, the notices of D'Ollone show that actually they are genuinely Sunni in character and not a variety of the mystical philosophy widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma Hua-lung was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a sheng jen (holy man, prophet)

PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. Newspapers

During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cultural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937. After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area. With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were supported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian, a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian, organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality. In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was expensive and could be bought in quantity only through government rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect censorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at forbidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages, with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscellaneous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations, little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administration of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over all the former government papers. The private papers were discouraged to continue. According to the limited information available, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

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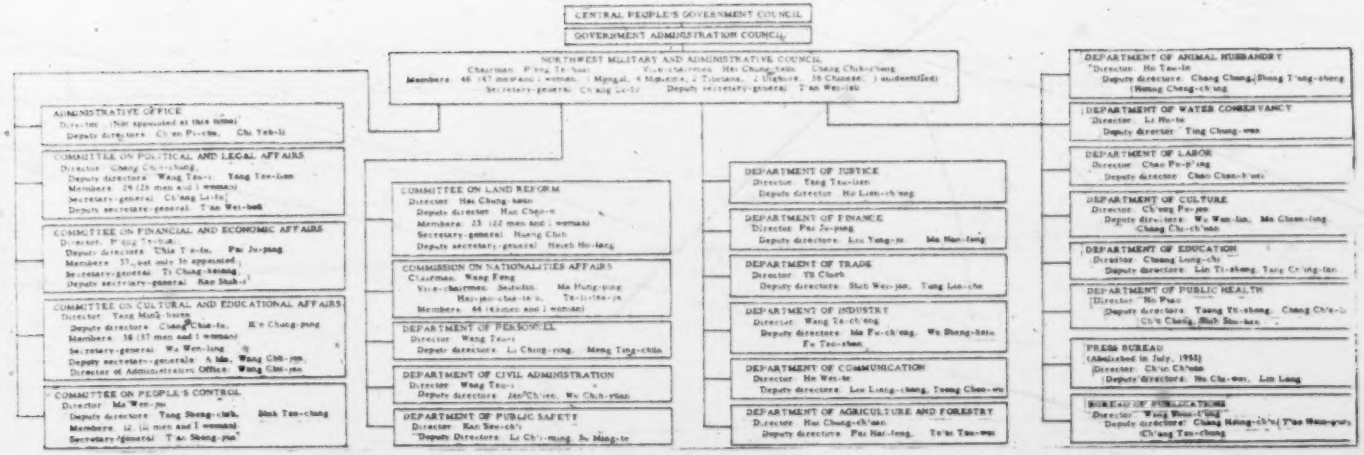
TABLE I

THE STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL OF NW MAC IN 1952


CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COUNCIL
GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL
NORTHWEST MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
Chairman: P'eng Te-huai
Vice-chairmen: Hsi Chung-hsun, Chang Chih-chung
Members: 46 (47 men and 1 woman: Ulanfu, 4 Mongols, 4 Moslems, 2 Tibetans, 2 Uighurs, 16 Chinese, 1 unidentified)
Secretary-general: Ch'ang Hsi-yu
Deputy secretary-general: T'an Wei-lin
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
Director: (Not announced at this time)
Deputy directors: Ch'en Pi-chu, Chi Yeh-li
COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL AND LEGAL AFFAIRS
Director: Chang Chih-chung
Deputy directors: Wang Tao-yi, Yang Yen-lien
Members: 29 (28 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Ch'ang Hsi-yu
Deputy secretary-general: T'an Wei-lin
COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: P'eng Te-huai
Deputy directors: Chia T'o-fu, Fan Ju-ping
Members: 37 (not yet announced)
Secretary-general: Ti Chung-hsiang
Deputy secretary-general: Kao Shao-i
COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Yang Ming-hsien
Deputy directors: Chang Chia-fu, Ho Chang-ping
Members: 38 (37 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Wu Wen-ling
Deputy secretary-general: A Mo, Wang Chi-jen
Director of Administrative Office: Wang Chi-jen
COMMITTEE ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL
Director: Ma Wen-jen
Deputy directors: Yang Sheng-ch'ih, Shih Tao-chang
Members: 12 (11 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: T'an Sheng-jen
COMMITTEE ON LAND REFORM
Director: Hsi Chung-hsun
Deputy director: Han Chao-o
Members: 23 (22 men and 1 woman)
Secretary-general: Huang Chih
Deputy secretary-general: Hsieh Ho-liang
COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Wang Feng
Vice-chairmen: Seidehin, Ma Hung-ping, Hai-jen-cha-hsi-ta, Ta-li-ha-yi
Members: 44 (43 men and 1 woman)
DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL
Director: Wang Tsung
Deputy directors: Li Ching-ying, Meng Ting-chih
DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
Director: Wang Tao-yi
Deputy directors: Jen Ch'i-yen, Wu Chih-yuan
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Director: Kan Szu-ch'i
Deputy Directors: Li Ch'i-ming, Ju Ming-te
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Director: Yang Yen-lien
Deputy director: Ho Lien-ch'eng
DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
Director: Fan Ju-ping
Deputy directors: Liu Yung-te, Ma Han-fang
DEPARTMENT OF TRADE
Director: Yü Chieh
Deputy directors: Shih Wei-jen, Tung Lao-che
DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
Director: Wang Te-ch'eng
Deputy directors: Ma Fu-ch'eng, Wu Sheng-hsin, Fu Tso-shen
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION
Director: Hu Wei-te
Deputy directors: Liu Liang-ch'eng, Tsung Chao-wu
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Director: Hsi Chung-ch'uan
Deputy directors: Fan Hai-feng, Te'le Tsu-wen
DEPARTMENT OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Director: Hu Tsu-te
Deputy directors: Chang Chung, Shang T'ung-sheng (Hsiang Cheng-ch'eng)
DEPARTMENT OF WATER CONSERVANCY
Director: Li Hu-te
Deputy director: Ting Chung-wen
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Director: Chao Pu-p'ing
Deputy director: Chao Chao-k'uei
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE
Director: Ch'eng Pu-pin
Deputy directors: Wu Wen-lin, Ma Chao-ling, Chang Chu-ch'uan
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Director: Chiang Lung-chi
Deputy directors: Lin Ti-sheng, Tang Ch'ing-lan
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Director: Ho Pao
Deputy directors: Tsung Yü-sheng, Chang Ch'e-i, Ch'i Cheng, Shih Shu-lan
PRESS BUREAU
(Abolished in July, 1952)
Director: Ch'en Ch'uan
Deputy directors: Ho Chu-wen, Lin Lang
BUREAU OF PUBLICATIONS
Director: Wang Shou-ch'ing
Deputy directors: Chang Hsing-ch'i, T'ao Wen-yüan, Ch'eng Tzu-chung

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241 489 culture on land already under cultivation might be realized.

The Nationalist Government gave no financial assistance of 241 654 any magnitude until the Second World War. Finally, when it was forced to retreat into the remote areas of Southwest China, the 175 government had to depend largely on the Northwest for food and revenue (agricultural taxes). The Nationalist Government became more interested in the agricultural development of the Northwest and some experimental stations were set up in Kansu. Government assistance, however, was directed primarily to farmers engaged in producing crops for the war effort; e.g., cotton.

241 175 [435] After 1938, the price index for farm products rose rapidly in all four provinces and the purchasing power of the farmers began to grow. After 1940, food prices rose speedily and the farmers had more money than in prewar days. By examination of the [433] data of the war years as to whether farmers undertook to increase their scale of production and thereby extend cultivation, we can say that there was little increase in extensive farming (except in the case of Ninghsia) and that the output increases during this period can be attributed (wheat especially) largely to intensive farming.

241 423 Turning to the land tenure system, the percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants, as determined by a land survey undertaken by J. L. Buck, reveals that on the average most of the farmers own their own plots of land. The following [175] chart, compiled from data collected by Buck in 1933 on a sample basis gives us the landholding breakdown. In Farm Survey (a), [429] farmers who own their farmsteads but who rent all their crop land are classified as tenants rather than as partowners. When compared to the agricultural survey (b), (in this survey, 236 localities, 146 hsien, and twenty provinces in China were examined), the results in both cases are similar except in the case of Chinghai where the few samples taken disallows an accurate breakdown. (Land Utilization in China p. 57.)

241 423 427 Percentage of farmers who are owners, partowners and tenants

Province & local	Farm Survey (a)			Agricultural Survey (b)		
Kansu	owner	part-owner	tenant	owner	part-owner	tenant
171 Kao-lan	86.0	11.0	3.0	60.0	15.0	25.0
162 Lin-hsia	-	-	-	60.0	10.0	30.0
Wu-wei	96.0	4.0	0	60.0	25.0	15.0
Yung-teng	-	-	-	35.0	5.0	60.0
Ping-liang	82.0	17.0	1.0	85.0	10.0	5.0
Tien-shu	62.0	21.0	17.0	50.0	30.0	20.0
Average	78.6	14.2	7.2	58.4	15.8	25.8
Ninghsia	98.0	2.0	0	96.0	1.0	3.0
Chinghai						
Hwang-yau	67.3	22.7	10.0	-	-	-

241 Kuei-teh	-	-	-	30.0	10.0	60.0
423 Hsi-ning	77.8	19.4	2.8	-	-	-
427 Wei-yüan	-	-	-	10.0	5.0	85.0
171 Average	72.6	20.5	6.4	20.0	7.5	72.5
162 Shensi						
Ting-pien	72.0	20.0	8.0	-	-	-
Yu-lin	66.0	26.0	8.0	-	-	-
Average for 20 locals	69.8	16.0	14.0	70.0	14.1	15.9
Average	69.4	20.6	10.0	70.0	14.1	15.9

241 423 427 175 [114] The following charts are the results of agricultural surveys taken during the war years by the Nationalist Government. They are on a percentage basis and bear out the validity of Buck's findings; namely, that tenantry in the Northwest is not a serious problem. It is dangerous to try and depict any trend from these statistics; although this period reflects a higher standard of living for the peasantry because of high wartime prices, it usually takes a long time to bring about any change in landed relations, since peasant attitudes are fixed and not susceptible to immediate change. (China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 458-59, revised and enlarged with 1946 Supplement.)

241 427 175 162 Percentage of tenant farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	18	21	16	10	15	14	15	13
Chinghai	19	18	18	21	24	28	18	21
Kansu	19	16	22	18	18	21	22	18
Shensi	18	22	25	22	23	25	21	24

241 423 175 162 Percentage of owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	68	66	65	74	74	74	78	68
Chinghai	51	61	58	61	51	51	78	58
Kansu	61	66	59	62	61	60	55	63
Shensi	61	57	55	58	57	56	59	58

Percentage of part-owner farmers in China

Province	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Ninghsia	14	13	19	16	11	12	7	19
Chinghai	30	21	24	18	25	21	27	21
Kansu	20	18	19	20	21	19	19	19
Shensi	21	21	20	20	20	19	20	18

427 [175] There are three systems for paying land rent; namely, cash rent, crop rent, and share rent. When a tenant rents his land by paying a fixed amount of money per mou to his landlord, it is cash rent. If he pays a fixed amount of cereals produced on the land, it is crop rent. If he divides the crops raised on his rented land with his landlord at a fixed ratio, it is share rent. No investigations were made during World War II regarding the systems of paying rent. The latest study was made in 1934 by the National

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK (UNIT: 1,000 HEAD) (CHINA HAND BOOK-1937-1945, TABLE 22. p.442)

	PROVINCES	OXEN	HORSES	MULES	DONKEYS	GOATS	SHEEP	HOGS	CHICKENS	DUCKS	GEESE	WATER BUFFALO	TOTAL
1942	NINGHSIA	14	8	4	31	106	186	34	175	6	2	...	566
	CHINGHAI	35	32	24	44	224	367	79	250	3	3	1	1,062
	KANSU	583	96	94	536	1,378	2,459	760	2,431	165	43	11	8,556
	SHENSI	839	84	113	256	...	277	751	2,558	158	16	2	5,054
	TOTAL												15,238
1943	NINGHSIA	14	4	3	34	93	159	30	187	8	2	...	534
	CHINGHAI	36	26	28	50	155	274	55	192	5	1	...	822
	KANSU	626	115	112	565	1,495	2,594	663	2,545	145	34	5	8,899
	SHENSI	887	89	112	239	340	245	740	2,688	150	15	7	5,512
	TOTAL												15,767
1944	NINGHSIA	28	8	5	57	140	234	41	176	9	3	...	701
	CHINGHAI	43	36	26	42	170	211	51	139	9	2	2	731
	KANSU	623	138	105	594	1,522	2,768	614	2,470	116	28	2	8,980
	SHENSI	808	83	114	254	313	203	669	...	120	13	6	2,583
	TOTAL												12,995

[P.645-A]

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427 Agricultural Research Bureau. It is doubtful whether the results
175 have changed greatly since then. The following are the 1934 findings:

Province	No. of Hsien Reported	Cash Rent	Crop Rent	Share Rent
Ninghsia	5	46.1	18.5	35.4
Chinghai	7	10.6	53.8	35.6
Kansu	21	14.3	51.0	34.5
Shensi	51	15.1	59.0	25.9

(China Handbook 1937-1943 p. 607.)

3. Livestock

175 The chief livestock are sheep, oxen, donkeys, mules, and
231 horses. The following chart gives the number of livestock in the four areas as of March, 1937, in thousand head. (T.H. Shen p. 289. Notable omissions in this table are yak and camel. There is a fairly large number of yak in Chinghai and camel in Ninghsia and Chinghai.) The next series of charts gives the livestock number for the war years.

Province	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Cattle	Water Buffalo	Sheep	Goats
Ninghsia	17	44	8	39	-	739	225
Chinghai	50	79	26	89	-	359	150
Kansu	151	581	160	802	1	2,625	1,646
Shensi	128	359	131	914	7	375	657

	Pigs	Chickens	Geese	Ducks	Total
Ninghsia	52	186	2	6	1,318
Chinghai	74	312	2	3	1,194
Kansu	984	3,212	53	229	10,544
Shensi	967	2,747	7	99	6,491
Total Number of Livestock (in thousand head)					19,547

The total number of livestock in China for 1937, excluding Sinkiang, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Sikang, and Manchuria, was 445,078 animals. This meant that the Northwest possessed about four per cent of all livestock in China for the year 1937.

231 As shown by the chart, one of the most important animals is
236 sheep; wool is exported from the region. In the Northwest the
43 cost of wool production is high in relation to selling prices. Sheep farmers operate at a deficit due chiefly to the low production of wool per head of sheep and to the high annual death loss from starvation, disease, and other causes, whereas in other sheep and wool producing countries the income from wool is at least forty per cent of total income, in the Northwest, the low production of wool per head of sheep allows only an income of twenty per cent. The estimated annual loss of sheep is around ten per cent. Of the total
236 amount of wool produced in China from 1941-1945, the five pro-
433 vinces of the Northwest, including Suiyuan, produced 69.7 per cent.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PREFACE

000 THE following chapters give some account of a series of journeys through the North-Western Provinces of China, undertaken in connection with the Anglo-Chinese Opium Treaty and other matters requiring investigation on the spot in conjunction with Chinese officials.

Shensi and Kansu are not very well known to foreigners generally owing to their isolation and to the absence of any towns open to foreign trade therein; but they contain many regions well worth visiting, and Kansu especially, with its profusion of game, European climate, and interesting mixed population of Chinese, Mahomedans, Tibetans, and Mongols, is in many respects one of the most attractive of the eighteen Provinces.

114 We were greatly indebted to the Chinese officials, both those who accompanied us and those of the districts through which we passed, for their constant courtesy and assistance, which did much to mitigate the hardships of these long journeys through the mountains and deserts of the North West. In all we covered a distance of 14,200 li (about 4000 miles) by road in Shensi and Kansu, the journeys occupying some ten months of almost continuous travel, divided over two summers.

000 This book was written three years ago, in 1917, when affairs in China were in great disorder after the troubles consequent on the collapse of Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial dream in 1916. Unfortunately the hopes that China would soon pull herself together again and put her house in order have not yet been realised, and the country continues to drift on down stream, torn by internal strife and preyed upon by countless hordes of brigands and those Frankenstein monsters, the Armies of the North and South, created by the militarists for their own profit and advancement.

• 176 721 Conditions in Shensi have become worse rather than better during the past two years. The neighbouring Province of Szechuan, usually the chief bone of contention between North and South, after changing hands again and again,

2: Teichman G-5 (1919-1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

175 721 settled down towards the end of 1917 in possession of the Southerners. Shensi then became the principal scene of conflict between the Northern and Southern Armies, and during 1918 and 1919 the Province suffered terribly at the hands of the rival forces, in most cases indistinguishable from the brigand hordes. Towns and villages were again pillaged and burnt, and the countryside laid waste. The Military Governor, who *more sinico* started his career as a Southern revolutionary, but subsequently gravitated towards the reactionary North and became one of the staunchest of the Northern militarists, has survived many vicissitudes and is still in the saddle; but the next two most prominent officials in the Province at the time of our visits, both progressive and enlightened men, have since met with a violent end at the hands of one side or the other.

Kansu has remained peaceful. General Ma An-liang died in the summer of 1918, and is said to have been succeeded, as Head of the Moslems of the North West, by General Ma Fu-hsiang.

249 The remarks about the successful suppression of opium cultivation, which reached its high-water mark in 1916 and 1917, contained in Chapter XI unfortunately no longer hold good. At the time of writing the poppy is again being extensively cultivated in the distant provinces of the interior, notably in Shensi and Szechuan, under the open encouragement of the local officials, who derive their principal revenues from the taxation of the opium produced. In the spring of 1919 the writer travelled for days through districts in Western Szechuan, where the cultivation of opium had previously been completely eradicated, without ever being out of sight of the countless fields of red and white poppy in full bloom; the price of opium was everywhere rapidly falling, and the populations of the out of the way cities were again sodden with the drug. This flagrant violation of the country's treaty engagements is not the fault of the Central Government, who continue to do their best to carry out suppression of production and consumption. But the various semi-independent military chiefs in the distant interior care nothing for the orders of the Peking administration or for China's treaty obligations, and aim only at their own enrichment.

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plain. The excuses were unnecessary, as we had throughout raised objections to the size of the party. Carts, which we had not seen since leaving T'ungkuan, were sent to meet us here in case anyone should want them, and the prospect of a return to Hsian reclining in a cart, after scrambling up and down the mountains on foot for so many days, was as attractive to them as a passage in a train *de luxe* would be to a travel-worn European. To me a journey in a Chinese cart is a hideously uncomfortable method of travel, unless it be across absolutely smooth Mongolian grass lands. A Chinese cart travels along a Chinese paved road with a series of bumps sounding like gunshots, which rapidly reduce a European to pulp, but apparently have no effect on a Chinese.

From Hsink'outzu to Chouchih Hsien, a distance of 30 li, the track descends across an undulating plain, which in spring is one vast wheat-field dotted with hamlets and the walled farms peculiar to the Shensi plains. Chouchih, a first class Hsien city and the centre of one of the rich agricultural districts of the Wei valley, lies a few li to the south of the Wei River. It is a regular northern city compared to the crowded little towns of the Han valley, and consists of little more than one long dusty street, open and empty looking. Wheat and cotton are the staples; a little coarse silk is produced, the cocoon season being in full swing at the time of our visit during the latter half of May. The two characters for Chouchih are rather unusual ones, and mean "the winding of mountain streams," which appears to refer to the Hei Ho and its tributaries which flow down from Fop'ing and T'aipai Shan through deep winding gorges to the plains. The district, like all those of Central Shensi, is a very ancient one, dating back to the beginnings of Chinese history. We were as usual quartered in the magistrate's yamen, which happened to be in an unusually good state of repair and provided most comfortable accommodation. A study of the archives of these district yamens of Central Shensi would doubtless prove of great interest to the historian, since, where they have not been destroyed during the revolution or the White Wolf rebellion, they date back to very ancient days.

From Chouchih we turned westwards and travelled across the plain to Mei Hsien, a distance of 100 li. The

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Turkestan or Tibet, at any time during the past few hundred years. Hsienyang is also famous as one of the old capitals of China, having been the seat of no less a person than the Emperor who designed the Great Wall, and who, being annoyed by the supercilious conservatism of the Chinese scholars of those days, buried several hundreds of them alive, and burnt all their books; for which act his name is execrated by the scholars of today.

Starting out from Hsienyang we left the high road to Kansu, which we had followed two years previously, on the right hand, and continued across the level plain to Hsingp'ing Hsien, another short march of 50 li. This is a second class district city lying on a wheat and cotton-growing plain sloping from the north down towards the Wei River.

The next stage to Wukung Hsien is a distance of 90 li, still across the plain. Thirty li out, just beyond the village of Mawei, the local magistrate who was accompanying us suddenly dragged us off the road to visit a dilapidated little temple in the fields, which turned out to be the tomb of a notorious Imperial concubine known to every educated Chinese as Yang Kuei-fei. She was strangled here by her consort, the Emperor, to satisfy his troops in about 170 A.D.; I forget the details of the story, which every Chinese knows. There was nothing to be seen inside the temple except the usual ancient individual busy taking rubbings of inscriptions. Central Shensi is full of these objects of historical interest, dating back sometimes two or three thousand years. Wukung district is entered beyond the walled village of Tungfufeng, which lies half-way, and the plain now begins to rise imperceptibly and becomes the usual undulating loess plateau; so that there is a sudden drop to reach the city of Wukung Hsien lying in a valley a hundred feet or so below the level of the loess. Three streams, from near Fenghsiang, Linyu, and Yungshou, unite here to form a pea-soupy river flowing south to join the Wei. Wukung, a second-class district city, is quite a prosperous little place with busy streets and well-stocked shops.

From Wukung the road climbs out of the valley and runs across the loess uplands to the west. All along this road the traveller is accompanied on his left hand by the

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797 missionaries holding these strange beliefs should be the only vehicle for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Kokonor tribesmen does not seem to be fair either to Christianity or to the tribesmen.

Having outlined the history of recent events in Shensi since the Revolution in a preceding chapter, with the Ko Lao Hui in the leading rôle, it may be of interest to recount the history of the same period in Kansu, assigning the principal part to the Mahomedans.

• 175 669 563 Kansu only played a small part in the Revolution of 1911, and, as was to be expected in so backward and isolated a province, there was little sympathy with the republican cause. The troops in the province at that time consisted still of the old style *Hsün Fang Tui* who were in the course of being modernised into the new regular army known as *Lu Chün*, and of Mahomedan soldiers peculiar to the province called *Hsi Chün*. After the Revolution the *Hsün Fang Tui* and the *Lu Chün* melted away together with the provincial government, and the attitude of the province towards things in general was governed by the action of the Mahomedan leaders and the Mahomedan troops, who, true to their recent traditions, remained loyal to the Manchu throne. Ma An-liang, the famous leader of the Kansu Mahomedans, who thus found himself at the head of the province, together with Sheng Yün, ex-Viceroy of the North West and one of the Manchu die-hards, despatched Moslem troops across the border into Shensi to fight the revolutionary forces of the Ko Lao Hui, but were eventually induced by the wise statesmanship of Yuan Shih-k'ai to withdraw them and accept the republic in name. Had Yuan Shih-k'ai not been at the head of affairs at that time, and had the Manchus been able to rally themselves to the Mahomedans of the North West, the settlement of 1912 might have been much delayed.

635 563 The result of the Revolution was therefore to give the Mahomedans what they had failed to obtain by rebellion in the past, namely complete autonomy and control of the province under General Ma An-liang, who moved into Lanchou from his residence near Hochou. There was a republican Tutu at the same time, but he seems to have been a mere figure-head. General Ma's management of the

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The geographical position of the city is such as to render it a very important centre, standing as it does where roads from Lhasa, Mongolia, India and South Siberia all converge. Merchants from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar travel this way, and it is not infrequent to meet a caravan of sixty donkeys which have travelled fifty days over the southern border of the Takla-Makan desert. Tunhwang is a town which has, under various names, taken an important place in the history of the territory now known as North-West Kansu. In 165 B.C. there is record of its inhabitants being overcome in battle, and dispersed, reappearing later as the Indo-Scythians of the Punjab. Its more ancient name was Shachow—City of the Sands—and it is frequently marked by this name, on maps, at the present time. In A.D. 400 it was the capital of the State of Western Liang. It has been held by Tibetans, and used by the Chinese as an extreme outpost of defence against the Huns. Documents in the Indian, Khoroshti and Brahmi scripts had been excavated in the district, as well as in an unknown script resembling Aramaic.

Of the original city nothing now remains but a ruined wall, and an enclosure mostly cultivated by market-gardeners. In its stead has grown up a smaller town, on the opposite side of the river, the eastern suburb of which has become the business quarter, and is chiefly occupied by Moslem Turkis, who are now gradually possessing themselves of the land, so that it is common to see the scarlet dress and fluttering veil of the Moslem women at work in the fields. The reason for this change in the population is not far to seek, opium and its deadly influences being the cause. Rich and poor, old and young, farmers, tradesmen and artisans are all neglecting their employment for the opium-pipe, and it is freely admitted that the people

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Tu ren

quotes the Chinese chronicles as follows: T'ou kou hounn 563
(or T'u gu hun) was the eldest son of "Chee koei," the khan 173
of the Sien pi (Hsien be - Tungus?) but was the son of a concubine. His father gave him a horde, but the actual heritage went to the legitimate son, Mou joung hoei. After the father's death (around 308 A.D.) the brothers quarreled because their horses had fought together. T'ou kou hounn left his home in present-day Manchuria, along with his horde and crossed the Liao River. At that time the Chinese Empire was split up into many small principalities and in what is now Shensi Huns ruled. T'ou kou hounn's horde pushed on farther and farther to the southwest until they found good pastures in the Koko Nor region. As time went on the T'ou kou hounn of the Koko Nor region were often mentioned by Chinese chroniclers.

/248/ A few Tu ren teachers of Wei yüan bu maintained that 167
their ancestors lived in the present-day province of Shansi in the 175
North during the time of the Tang emperors (620-907). They said 563
that their prince at that time had been Li ts'in wang (King Li) who had thirteen sons and assisted the Tang emperor when he was in great trouble, by defeating "Hoang ts'ao." They had always been free and it was only in the Ming period that they had come under Chinese domination. In the meantime a ruler with the title of Nan ding wang ruled them and he was supposed to have supported the emperor in his struggle against Tibetan invasions, that is to say, he was a sort of frontier guardsman for the Chinese. (1)

1. In various places within their empire the Chinese have allowed foreign peoples to remain. As we can clearly see in the Hsining Valley, they always pushed into the neighboring countries along the trade routes and did not disturb the former inhabitants in the mountains unless they were energetically aroused by them. Thus, the "wild Yao" have remained to this day in the mountains of South Hunan, and in southwest China the tribes of Miao tse, of independent Lolo, and others lived interspersed with Chinese. In the northwest near Hsining the Chinese began pushing forward more than 2,000 years ago, as we mentioned above, pp. 286 and 309. But they were checked by renewed disorders of the nomads after the Hsiung nu (the Huns) had conquered present-day

167 Central Mongolia in the year 177 B.C. With the beginning
175 of the fourth century the Tu ku hun (formerly probably al-
563 ways pronounced Tu yü hun) appear with 1,100 families in Kansu and Koko Nor. As we said before, they are supposed to represent an eastern branch of the Hsiun nu and be of Turko-Mongolian origin. In the year 445 one of their khans conquered the wealthy city of Khotan in Turkistan and killed the king there. In 556 they withstood hard battles with the Turks who came from the north. Around 390 they numbered 15,000 families and in the course of the years they made repeated invasions deep into Chinese territory, until finally in 635 (after more than 300 years) the Chinese checked them. Shortly thereafter (663) they were vanquished by the Tibetans who resided in the south and whose tribes had just been united by the greatest Tibetan ruler, Srong btsan sgam-bo. The Tibetans (the Tu fan of the Chinese chronicles) drove them from the succulent pastures of the Koko Nor and into the Nan Shan Mountains and their last king is said to have fled with the remains of his people from Nan Shan to Ning hsia where the tribe disappeared presumably around the year 672. But they are mentioned subsequently a few times in the Tang schu. Some of them must have been able to maintain themselves in Kansu.

162 The Tu ren are now domiciled not only around Wei yüan
563 bu (with about 3,000 families) but there are a few hundred
175 families south of the Hwang Ho near Bau ngan wedged in between Tibetans and Salar, while 2,000-3,000 more families live in San tschuan on the most inaccessible spot of the Hwang Ho below Hsün hoa ting, and 2,000 families live on the Da tung Ho; and in the extreme north the so-called Hoang fan or "yellow barbarians" in the valleys of Richthofen Ridge of the Nan Shan, on the upper course of the Edsingol, also
563 belong to them. These represent large remnants of peoples
175 which makes it obvious that they must at one time have belonged to something larger and better, and since the Chinese chronicles do not tell of any other peoples, except later on the Khoshot-Mongols, who founded an important kingdom, it almost follows that the Tu ren must be the remnants of the Tu ku hun. Later on they must also have formed part of the population of the Hsi Hsia kingdom which carried on long wars with the Chinese and Tibetans for the possession

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Tu ren

of Hsining, Niem be hsien and their surroundings. But it seems doubtful to me that they played the leading rôle in the Hsi Hsia kingdom- as a Liu tu se, a prince of the Tu ren told me. It seems to me that for this their dwelling places were too far south. The destruction of the Hsi Hsia kingdom, like the conquest of the Chinese Sung kingdom by Genghis Khan and his descendants did not bring about an extermination and expulsion of peoples, because the assault of the Mongols from the Altai with its relatively small /249/ forces could only cause dynasties to fall and cities to be plundered, but could not replace or destroy whole nations. 563 175

Sanan Setsen, in his history of the East Mongols tells us that Yen ta (Altan Gegen Khan) in his drive into East Tibet at the end of the sixteenth century, made war on the "Schara Uigur" who lived here, and captured several of their aristocrats. But these Schara or yellow Uigur (Igh'or) are none other than the "Hor" of Tibetan history and the old "Tu ku hun" (Tu yü hun).

As far as the above-mentioned Nan ding wang kingdom is concerned, of which the Tu ren spoke, it is probably the kingdom of An ting or Ngan ting which was said to have been located between Kanchow and Hsining. During the Yüan dynasty Buyin Timur, an imperial prince was set up as king there. After the Mongols were driven out of China his descendants were able to maintain themselves for a while as hereditary princes who were recognized by the Ming emperors. However, their subjects seem to have been largely Tibetans. When the northeast Mongol Ibula came, part of the An ting people fled to Scha tang tschuan east of Wei yüan bu. In the Ming period the military districts of An ting wei (Ngan ting), A duan wei, Tschu hsien wei, and Han-tung wei belonged to Hsining, while Tsche dschin wei and Scha tschou belonged to Suchow. Under "Nan ding wang" the city of Wei yüan bu was said not yet to have existed.

When the Tu ren maintain that their national hero defeated Hoang tsch'ao we are reminded of the great "Schah to Turk" (?) Li (Schah to is the steppe in the northwestern part of Kalgan). According to Wieger, Textes historiques, Vol. 3, Hoang tsch'ao was one of the most blood-thirsty conquerors in the entire bloody history of China. He laid

563
175 waste 879 cantons and ravaged the capital city of Tschang ngan (Hsingan fu) so that only Szechwan was left to Emperor Hi tsung. In his extremity he turned to prince To pa se kung from Hsia tschou, whom the historians sometimes speak of as a Turk and sometimes as a Tibetan. He had before that himself risen up against the emperor, but obeyed the emperor's summons in view of the expected booty and in the year 884 destroyed the rebel Hoang tsch'ao. As a mark of gratitude he was accepted into the imperial family. The Tang emperors descended from a Li family and for this reason the rescuer was henceforth also called Li or Li ko yung (Li K'eue young, according to Wieger). Besides, he received the title of duke of the land of Hsia. The descendants of this Li later became rulers of the kingdom of Tsinn in Shansi and, according to Wieger and de Mailla, they made themselves emperors of China with the dynasty title of Hou Tang (later Tang, 923-936) with their residence in Lao Yang (Honan).

Inasmuch as Chinese sources maintain that the Tang hiang prince by the name of To pa Sse Kong of Hia tschou helped the Chinese in 881-884, Devéria, L'écriture du Royaume de Si hia ou Tangout (Hsia Hsia), believes that the kings of Hsia Hsia kingdom who are said to be descended from this man, are also Tibetans, assuming with Klaproth that the Tang hiang people are Tibetans. But later on, he himself says that, according to Chinese sources, the title To pa which was applied to the Hsi Hsia kings means that they descended from the Sien pi. He says that the Sien pi who founded the Wei dynasty in the year 386 A. D. were formerly regarded as Tatars.

Tu ren of Wei yüan bu and their present-day Li Tu se told me that they were descendants of this To pa Li ko yung and the Hsi Hsia kings. Now, they are surely not Tibetans but Mongols, and ethnographically they show various peculiarities of both. Therefore, I cannot regard it as impossible that they stem from the Hsien be (Sien pi). In that case the Hsi Hsia kingdom could have been a Hsian be dominion and the strange, hitherto undecipherable language which has remained of this kingdom would have to be Mongolian or Tungus. Since to this day among the Chinese many things are done "ts'a bu do," i.e., "approximately," I do not

regard the old Chinese assertion that Hsi Hsia was a "Tanggut kingdom" and Tibetan as conclusive. (With the word "Tanggut" the Mongols of Koko Nor mean only Tibetans nowadays, but it is not known since when this has been done.) 563 175

/249/ The thing that strikes a stranger most when he comes to Wei yüan bu and to these Tu ren is the dress and the head-wear of the feminine population. Even in these regions in which the eye is certainly used to many daring color combinations, the feminine mode of Wei yüan bu is conspicuous for its particularly bright colors (Plate LII). The Tu ren women wear one or two cotton jackets next to their bodies, and these, just as with the Chinese, take the place of our chemise; they also wear two pairs of trousers which are rather wide and open at the bottom and not tied at the ankles as is the case with the men. The one pair is bright red, the other indigo. Over this they wear a rose red skirt which, however, is made more like a long apron and is split in the middle from top to bottom; in other words an article of clothing with no visible function. Over this is worn the most important part of the dress, a Tibetan caftan which is closed at the side and reaches about down to the calves. /250/ This caftan is sewn out of blue cotton material and in the winter when it is very cold it is padded. At the hips it is held together by a red wool belt from which hang three towels, a green one, a white one and a red one. But this by no means satisfies the clothing need and above all the love of color of the Tu ren women. The upper part of their bodies is also covered with a blue cotton jacket with wide sleeves which are sewn together with horizontal strips of green, red and blue cloth and on which are fastened black, yellow, etc., ribbons and bands. On their feet they wear cloth boots that are colorfully stitched all over and the legs of which reach to the calves. And on their head sits a fashion structure of the most grotesque forms and proportions. It consists of a more or less large hood, depending on the tribe and the valley around Wei yüan bu from which the person comes, with huge orange-colored tassels, with a center piece resembling a saddle from which hang brass buckles that widen out at the bottom (Plate LV). Altogether there are thirteen variations of this headgear. As a non-professional in hat styles, I noted particularly three kinds which I collected and photographed. Among the Tu gu h'ung women the headdress consists of a metal trident which sticks out from their blue-black hair, and 563 291

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The Tschang tang is the boundary on the northwest, and represents a favorite excursion and hunting area for individual hordes, not only because of its wild yak herds, but also because of the connecting roads between Nag Chu ka (or Lhasa) and Tsaidam (or Dunkur), as I myself unfortunately was obliged to experience in the most drastic manner.

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The individual tribes are very loosely united nowadays. /145/ The Nan tsien King is actually able to rule only his own tribe which, with 9,000 families, is by far the most populous of all, and which possesses fruitful acres in between magnificent forests and alpine pastures in the deep valleys of the upper Mekong (Tsa Chu) and its southern tributaries the Ba Chu and the Tsche Chu. The king's tribe is again divided into 35 sDe schok (sub-tribes). The royal residence lies on the banks of the Ba Chu, a right tributary of the Mekong. The kingdom is hereditary and only nominally required the sanction of Peking. The kings never had to go to the capital in order to kowtow to the Emperor. Like most of the kings of the neighborhood and also some of the be hu, they descend from the Mongolian rulers of the Hor (Schara uigur or Tu ku hun). (1) The dyalbo (written rgyalbo) or king

1. See footnote to p. 424, Vol. I.

is given the title tsien hu (lord of a thousand) or tu se (native official), but the Schen si traders spoke of Nan tsien dyalbo or simply of the wan or wang (king). He wears a coral button as a sign of his rank and possesses an old Chinese patent or seal according to which his rule extends to the boundary of Tsaidam and as far as the Koko Nor.

The tribes which are dependent on the king, as well as the tribes which are almost or entirely independent (sde and sde schok) are either under a be hu (master of 100) who usually wears a blue button on his hat, or at least under a be tschen, who wears a white button. If they are not lamas their office is also hereditary and goes to the oldest son or, in case the latter is recognized as an incarnation and is needed as holy man in a monastery, it goes to the second eldest.

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We wonder why this large country is dependent on Hsining and not, like the neighboring areas, under the administration of the province of Szechwan, only so long as we take into consideration the geographical conditions and the distance between the actual province of Koko Nor and Dya sde (even the couriers figure on 17 days on horseback between Tendo and Dankar, without counting the change of horses, 800 kilometers) and do not think of the historical development and the conquest of Tibet by the Manchu. It is well-known that the policy of the first Manchu emperors was to enlarge the boundaries

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of the middle territory, which was quite different from that of the Ming emperors who confined themselves to the rule within China itself and were usually glad when they kept control of the wealthy places within the present-day 18 provinces, by modernizing the "great walls" and in general by extensive brick masonry. Hardly had they pacified the old kingdom, when they were already bent on extending their supremacy to the rest of the east and central Asiatic peoples, at least of the mainland. Emperor Kang hi (1662-1723) - as I already mentioned among other things, on p. 176 of Vol. I - had already got mixed up in the disputes between the West (Ölät) and East Mongols (Khalkha). After the overthrow and death of the West Mongol (Ölät or Dsungari prince) Galdan (1697) - who bore the secular name of Buschuktu Khan - his nephew, Tsewang Rabdan, became the ruler of all the Kalmuk tribes and lands between Hami in the East and Kokand in the West. Spurred on by the unrest in Lhasa, this Tsewang Rabdan got the idea of conquering Tibet and gaining influence over the entire Lamaistic church and thus over all Mongols. In the winter of 1716-17 he quietly and secretly sent Tserengdondob with 6,000 men through the Lob desert and across the Tschang tang to Lhasa and another division to the Koko Nor. Kang hi decided first of all to protect Hsining and the Koko Nor against an /146/ attack of the Dsungarian Ölät, for Kang hi had not immediately learned that Tserengdondob had been sent out to distant Lhasa to make a sudden attack. Kang hi feared that Tserengdondob would join forces with the lamas and the Mongol king at that time, military ruler and protector of lamas at Lhasa, Latsang, who was the greatgrandson of the Khoshot and Kalmuk Gushi Khan (page 311, Vol. I) and that they would band together and attack the Gum bum monastery. But when Latsang (Lhabzan: 1704-1717) was asked for help against Tserengdondob, Kang hi again immediately interfered. the troops gathered around Hsining were ordered to march on Central Tibet and Lhasa.

This imperial advance began in the spring of 1718 under the Manchurian officers Sereng and Erentai with 10,000 men including 6,000 auxiliary troops of the Koko Nor Mongols. They crossed the Tung tien Ho (Yangtze Kiang) in the vicinity of Chu Mar rabwden and reached the shore of the upper Salwen or Nag Chu. Meanwhile, after a preliminary indecisive clash between Latsang and Tserengdondob, an influential Ölät lama had gone over to Tsereng, the Central Tibetan auxiliaries of King Latsang had renounced their old master and scattered to their homes, Lhasa was stormed, the castle of Potala had fallen as a result of treachery, King Latsang was killed in a sortie,

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his family fled to Tsaidam, and all Tibet lay at the feet of the Dsungari. Sereng and Erentai were besieged for weeks on the Salwen by the Dsungari and their Tibetan friends and shot at from entrenchments. Their provisions and arrows gave out. Only a short message from this division and the announcement that Erentai had been shot through the forehead in a sortie reached the ears of the Emperor.

The state council in Peking thereupon decided that further undertakings against the western lands of Tibet were to be abandoned because the war was too costly and difficult. However, Kang hi was not so easily diverted. He probably already saw the rise of a Kalmuk kingdom, uniting all Lamaistic peoples. From the city of Ta tsien lu which had already become Manchurian in the last decade of the 17th century, first Litang and then Batang were cautiously occupied in 1719, whereupon the nearest abbots of the monasteries of Draya (Tschamdun Dschraya) and Tsiamdo, which lie on the road to Lhasa, volunteered submission. In the spring of 1720 there was a simultaneous advance from Batang and Hsining on Lhasa. As a result of the enterprising spirit of a general named Yo tschung tschi, 800 (!) Manchurian banner troops coming from Batang stood outside of Lhasa within four months. But the northern expedition (from Hsining) was the decisive one; many Mongols from the Koko Nor joined it, as well as the bLobzang sKalbzang Dalai Lama, the seventh incarnation (or the sixth official Chinese incarnation). After short battles with the Dsungari Kalmuk who had been deserted by the Tibetans at the mere news of the arrival of sKalbzang Dalai Lama, Tserengdondob escaped to the north and fled back to Ili to Tsewang Rabdan with only a few followers left. The Manchu not only entered the Potala in the rôle of liberators from the spoils-loving Kalmuk, but they also (from Hsining) enthroned the sKalbzang Dalai Lama in the presence of countless Mongolian and Tibetan princes.

This sKalbzang Dalai Lama was not installed immediately after the death of the last Dalai Lama in Lhasa. In the year 1706 Latsang Khan who, as a descendant of Gushi Khan, still held the military high command in Central Tibet, had had the Tsang byang Dalai Lama killed because he grew up to be a dissolute fellow who disregarded the laws of the Gelugbu. In his place he had proclaimed a young monk Nawang Yishi to be Dalai Lama, who was 25 years old and into whom not the soul, but at any rate the "spirit" of the murdered one was supposed to have wandered. This explanation of Latsang Khan was believed by only a few people and Latsang thereby lost all respect among the Tibetans, in fact, Tserengdondob's expedition was the result.

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Soon after (1708), a new reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, in other words of a second god, was discovered in the principality of Litang, and this child, the same sKalbzang, was, at the age of two, brought from Litang to the Gum bum monastery by the princes of the Koko Nor, all of whom were not in accord with Latsang's theory, in order to safeguard the child against Latsang's persecutions and so that they themselves would gain influence.

Bringing the sKalbzang Dalai Lama to Lhasa was an excellent chess move of the Emperor Kang hi. It brought complete success. At first 3,000 banner troops were left in Lhasa, (later the number was reduced to 1,000) in order to protect the city from a new /147/ invasion of Tsewang Rabdan and Tserengdondob. For some time troops were kept on the Yangtze Kiang, which had come from Hsining and had first served to cover the supply columns during the journey of the Dalai Lama. From Szechwan only the main road through Ta tsien lu, Batang, Tsaimdo, La ri (Lharigo) had been occupied as military relay road for Lhasa; only this road became Chinese. The lands to the right and left remained in the hands of the officers and monks of the Dalai Lama who had been sent from Potala and the newly-installed King bSodnam. Now when the Koko Nor Mongol Lobzang Dandsin had rebelled (see pp. 312 and 313, Vol. I) and when in the year 1732 General Ta ai suppressed the uprising mentioned in Vol. II, pp. 20 and 21, fn. 1, the Hsining Chinese again came from the north across the Yangtze Kiang and their General Ta ai established the Yü schu in the year 1733. Tibetan taxes which before that were paid to the Mongols, henceforth flowed into Manchurian hands. At that time there were 40 "Na tribes" with 8,400 independent families, 100 of which were required annually to pay a horse apiece as tax. The Tibetan aristocrats received patents as ts'ien hu, be hu and be tschang (Tibetan: be tschen), which Emperor Yung Tscheng confirmed. The kingdoms of Dergi, Hor, Dyarong, Ardschün, etc., remained untouched by these events. They were only later overcome diplomatically by way of Ta tsien lu, and affixed to Se Szechwan (see in this connection the Scheng wu dyi, the book of wars of the Manchu dynasty as well as Haenisch, T'oung Pao, Vol. XII).

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As in the rest of Tibet the community or village elders (Tibetan: rGam bo) are subordinate to the tribal chiefs (be hu, be tschen, hum bo, dbon). The be hu levy taxes on their subjects in the form of sheep, barley, tea, butter, and salt. However, the rgam bo does not have this right. He is usually merely freed from taxes. By far the greatest part of the taxes goes from the be hu directly to the lamas

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361 the captain was not irritated by this and saw the funny side of everything. Among the many yarns with which he spiced our feast I remember the story of a hsien who, in response to an official inquiry from Lanchow the previous summer, whether to his knowledge there was ore to be found in the district, did not hesitate for a moment to reply in the affirmative. Then, when a visit from a Belgian engineer hired by the government was announced, he quickly had a smelting oven erected and his ore-bearing rocks treated. At night when the engineer was asleep iron in hundred-pound lumps was added and a very good product achieved. The Belgian's poor opinion of the rocks was belied by the masses of iron which flowed from the furnaces of the hsien. Thus the mandarin soon obtained capital from the viceroy's strong box to open up a large foundary. By the time his term of office expires he can report to Lanchow that the iron mine caved in or suddenly gave out, and he can also count on the fact that meanwhile his superiors have changed office and the matter has been forgotten in the official documents.

•175 361 The old city of Tao tschou is today still an exclave of China in the Tibetan Amdo country. Round about it Tibetan farmers cultivate the fields. But more than 2,000 years ago in what was then Tao tang Chinese were already much more deeply entrenched than they are today. They pushed on following the loess and the soft red, the quatä clay, and, defying the amazing altitude, laid out their terraced fields and built quite a number of settlements at 3,000 meters. There was here a strong frontier guard against the peoples of the west before the latter were split up and when their forces were still intact. /304/ Around Tao tschou, just as in front of the big wall in North Shansi, crumbled square towers of loess rise over the land; a widely ramified net of beacons joined all posts. Even the simplest Chinese of today realize that they are interlopers. Farmers tell how, long before, they came from down below, from the province of Anhwei. However, none of them can say when his family was transplanted thither; nor would he say even if he knew, because they were exiles. In the old chronicle of the city of Tao tschou the reasons for the earlier advance and later retreat are said to be given, but the book containing the records of the district was destroyed by flames along with the plates in one of the many Mohammedan rebellions around the middle of the 19th century. In the Sui and Tang periods (589-907) there was a large city farther up in the west. Two kilometers farther east there was a second city wall and seven kilometers farther, down below on the right bank of the Tao Ho, lay the fortress of Yang ba tsch'eng.

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formerly known as Sche bu tsch'eng (city with the stone entrenchment). All three are today in ruins. In the last-named I found copper pennies dating from the Tang period, of Emperor Hsüan (Yüan) Tsung (713-756) with the inscription Kai Yüan (713-742). There I also saw an octagonal stone monolith inside remnants of a wall of stamped loess which today encloses only a small farm and potato fields. The inscription on the red sandstone says that during the rule of Tien bau (742-756) the Tibetans, the tu fan, conquered and destroyed the city, but that the Chinese, after a 30-day siege, again gained possession of it on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month in the eighth year of the rule of Tien bau. General Li scheng was obliged to take the city within three days, otherwise he would have been beheaded. The district was at that time subject to the inspection of Ho tschou in Lung yu, one of the 15 provinces which the kingdom had at that time. (1)

1. Sche bu tsch'eng which is also mentioned in histories of China written by Europeans, as for instance in De Mailla and Wieger, must have been a Tibetan stronghold from the beginning. Its situation is economically too unfavorable that it could have been founded by Chinese. The right or southern bank of the Tao ho is at that point too cut up and is besides even today largely covered with forests. The river looks almost as though it had slid off the red clays that form the mountains at the city of Tao tschou and been pushed south into the Perm sandstone mountain range. There is room for only a few fields in its vicinity and no trade route comes by there. The river winds its way with difficulty between the rocks; it is 65 meters wide and, at an acute angle, washes against a narrow almost perpendicular rock and knife-sharp vertical slabs of slate, against which the fortress stands. Beside it a small level space was enclosed by a wall which ran from the rock to the river. Only this short stretch of wall consisting of loess-loam fortified with pile work, was vulnerable and might have proved fateful for the defender.

The conquest of Sche bu tsch'eng in 749, which was mentioned on the monolith, falls into the brief period during which the South Tibetans from Lhasa succeeded in uniting the chieftains who were always at odds. It was the time when Srong btsan sgam bo (617-698) had created a dangerous empire not only for the Tu ku hun (the ancient

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Hor) of the Koko Nor, for Nepal and /305/ the Indian border countries, but also for China and its Tan emperors, and when his tu fan as the Chinese called his subjects - under his eight successors (given the title of btsan bo), or rather under their mayors of the palace again and again invaded Kansu. With great effort the Chinese had recaptured the city of Sche bu tsch'eng as early as 729, but after only a short time (741) lost it again. Thereupon Emperor Hsüan Tsung had the city besieged again and again. Finally at the siege of 749 the Chinese stormed the short stretch of wall for three days and nights without pause and wore down the small garrison sufficiently so that it could be overrun. Of 60,000 soldiers who took up this siege, more than half were said to have remained. After this attack the fortifications were destroyed completely. But this occupation of the territory of Sche bu tsch'eng by the Chinese was also of brief duration. The tu fan took advantage of the difficulty in which the Tang dynasty found itself because of the rebel Nan lu schan, and already in 763 they entered the imperial city of Hsingan fu along with the rest of the Tu ku hun, after not only Tao tschou, Min tschou, Ho tschou, but also Lanchow and Tsinchow, in short the entire Lung yu or present-day Kansu fell into their hands.

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If the superiors of the high command in the Tïwo war[1] had spoken the forceful language with which Li scheng[2] was addressed, this war would also have ended in the glory of Chinese weapons, but at that time the Manchu knew only half-way measures. So the gentleman colonel /Plate LXVIII faces p. 304 in the original text./ /305/ came out of the Tibetan country on September 20 with waving banners and sat happy and proudly smiling on his steed whose long tail - according to the Asiatic idea, a horse's chief ornament - had been completely cut off. Little Radang had yielded nothing until it was paid its 450 taels, and even then it dared, or rather had the temerity to deliver the stolen horses with their manes cut off in derision and with bloody tail stumps. The merchants' guild of Tao tschou fumed with rage at the cowardly act of the officers. "It would have been better if the expedition had never taken place," they grumbled. For this reason the colonel did not stay long in the city. On the march his troops looked very good and offered a pleasing picture, although

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[1] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 489 — Analyst] [2] [Cf. cat. 116, p. 491-492-4]